

# anarchist weekly Freedom

5p

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So far as one can see four were selected to be made examples of, rather in the style of the old military practice of 'decimating' mutinous troops. The men were lined up and

every tenth man was shot. A bit of ferocity and a bit of mercy, people are frightened and yet at the same time they are relieved. If all eight had been sentenced to ten years there would have been an outcry, and maybe the sentences would have been reduced. The authorities hope that with only four sentenced there will be little protest.

Secondly, judging from the lack of concrete evidence of guilt, it

would appear that the Eight were simply seized, more or less at random. They may have been in association at one time or another with the real Angry Brigade, who may well be *agents provocateurs*, how is one to know?, but that was the full extent of their crime. They did not actually **do** anything. Their crime was that they were known to hold unorthodox views and keep dubious company. This could well

apply to the publishers, the subscribers or even the casual purchasers of **FREEDOM**. It could apply to anybody.

This is precisely the idea. No one is safe, even though they may not in the end be convicted they may spend months in and out of jails, courts, solicitors' offices, etc. Their lives in short may be disrupted.

The British ruling class used to be thought one of the most clever in the world, because it always played it cool. It is losing its power and its cool today, and beginning to strike out in vicious panic, though without losing all its cunning by any means. In the long run the results are likely to be from its own point

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We commiserate with James Greenfield, John Barker, Ann Mendelson and Hilary Creek, victims of the growing British police state. We believe that they should be released at once. It is in the interests of all of us to struggle on their behalf.

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The other important issue is the simple right and practice of not having someone whom you do not think would be a good member as a member of an organisation. It's as simple as that. Why should the Sudbury branch members tolerate a person who has on numerous occasions shown himself unfit and unprincipled to be accepted as a member? Three times Mr. Goad has let his membership of the AUEW lapse because he did not pay his dues. In 1967 he worked during an unofficial strike and then refused to pay the wages earned as a fine to a charity.

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CAV, as part of the Lucas group, are an important supplier to the motor industry. The threat of strike action at Sudbury quickly made the management send their liability home on full pay. The strike is now a reality and could also make the company think about Mr. Goad's offer to retire if CAV paid him the £30,000 he estimates he would earn if he stays on until his retirement. The stewards from other Lucas factories are meeting to discuss what action can be taken following a further fine of £50,000 on the AUEW. The first fine of £5,000 with a cool £1,000 costs was sequestered from the union's bankers, Hill Samuel. As they paid up without consulting their customer, the AUEW has transferred its money from them to an unknown deposit

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But these critics do not want ordinary people to control their own organisations. Because trade unionists take control and act for themselves they are condemned. When trade union leaders give leadership which happens to be against the law, they are also condemned. The so-called liberal *Guardian*, with the employers and the State, want it both ways. Workers are expected to play it by the rules, when these same rules are made by the employing class. When workers and trade unions go beyond the 'limits to protest' and have 'deliberately challenged the authority of this Court and the right of Parliament to pass a law of which it disapproves', they are condemned for breaking rules they had nothing to do with.

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Many are arguing that this whole confrontation could have been avoided. It certainly could but given the inflexible nature of the law, its wheels grind exceedingly small. All are caught up in this, including management, who have been warned against sacking Mr. Goad

since he could then take them to Court for 'wrongful dismissal'. The co-operation between the Government and the TUC could also be a casualty if strike action results from the latest fines.

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We would answer that every law should be broken if either a group or an individual disapproves of it. The statute book is packed with laws to protect the interests of those who own and control the means of production. We as workers will have to break them all if we are to gain our freedom and control of our work places and build a free society without profit, privilege and power.

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The strikers have agreed to take their dispute to arbitration, but their experience with the union has led them to insist on the condition that the strike committee should conduct its own case, and that the terms of reference of the arbitration committee must be acceptable to the strike committee. And the illustrious Mr. Feather has put an uninvited oar in to press for arbitration machinery to be set up as soon as possible to settle the dispute.

Apart from Mr. Feather, other public figures who have recently rushed in to make statements or interventions or what have you on the strike have included Mr. Maurice Macmillan of the Employment Ministry, and the local MP Mr. John Cronin, who has issued an

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While the strikers have welcomed this coverage on the basis that the wider the knowledge of their struggle the more support they will receive, the outcome of the dispute will be settled by quite other factors. Among these factors are the strength and determination of the strikers and their strike organisations. And the National Union of Hosiery and Knitwear Workers may also be a factor, but in this dispute I can only imagine that any role it may have will be to contribute to the defeat of the strike. Indeed their actions point unerringly to the conclusion that they want the strike to be defeated.

It took a physical occupation of the union office in Loughborough by the strikers to force the union to make the strike official. Then the white workers in the factory, who have worked on in opposition to the strike from the outset, objected to the decision to make it an official strike, and some pulled out of the union. To which action the union responded by backing the right of the white workers to continue to work. Or to put it more directly, the union authorises a strike with one breath and backs scabbing on it with the next.

This confused situation has led to feelings of great bitterness among both white and Asian workers. The strikers were greatly encouraged when the union made the strike official. But disenchantment has since returned. There have been scuffles and fights between white and Indian workers with police intervention. And a further manifestation of the racial hostility of the white workers was a delegation from the factory supporting a march through Leicester organised by the local Enoch Powell support group, which, rather quaintly to my mind, describes itself as non-political. There was also a delegation of strikers supporting a counter demon-

stration organised by the local left, mainly IS.

The strikers have agreed to take their dispute to arbitration, but their experience with the union has led them to insist on the condition that the strike committee should conduct its own case, and that the terms of reference of the arbitration committee must be acceptable to the strike committee. And the illustrious Mr. Feather has put an uninvited oar in to press for arbitration machinery to be set up as soon as possible to settle the dispute.

Apart from Mr. Feather, other public figures who have recently rushed in to make statements or interventions or what have you on the strike have included Mr. Maurice Macmillan of the Employment Ministry, and the local MP Mr. John Cronin, who has issued an historically platitudinous statement, the only purpose for which, as far as one can imagine, was that by making it he was at least assured of getting a mention in the *Leicester Mercury* and thus keeping his name in the voters' eye, lest they forget it.

The *Leicester Mercury* has continued with its practice of spreading confusion about the strike, to which the strike committee have replied by refusing admittance to their strike meetings to any reporters from the paper because it

Continued on page 3

**DEMONSTRATION  
IN SUPPORT OF THE  
IMPRISONED FIVE.  
AT WORMWOOD SCRUBS.  
MEET  
SHEPHERD'S BUSH  
GREEN,  
SATURDAY,  
DECEMBER 16, 1 p.m.  
SN8 Defence Group and  
Other Groups.**

## REVIEWS

# MYTH & REALITY

TWO RECENT BBC TV programmes have raised some very interesting questions about the nature of authoritarian society and the means now available to impose putatively desirable patterns of behaviour. They were based on the writings of two Americans, *The Myth of Mental Illness*, a book by Thomas Szasz, and *A Report to Congress on Lobotomy and Psychosurgery* by Peter Breggin.

It will be convenient to deal with Szasz's work first, as it discusses the whole basis of our treatment of mental patients, while Breggin's is concerned with a particular aspect of this treatment.

Szasz's thesis is a philosophical one, a point entirely missed by the four eminent British psychiatrists engaged to debate with Szasz. One assumes that, being medical graduates, philosophy is foreign territory for them.

When we say that a person is mentally ill, asserts Szasz, we are using a metaphor. If we take the metaphor literally we are creating a myth (a point already made in *FREEDOM*). This leads to some curious anomalies. When a man is ill we usually expect him to know that he is ill and voluntarily to seek treatment. On the other hand, when we say that a man is mentally ill, we often find that he totally denies being ill, indeed frequently says that he never felt better in his life, yet he is forcibly submitted to treatment. We also find that the symptoms which lead to his being diagnosed as mentally ill turn out to be behaviour which somebody thinks is undesirable. Now the important point that Szasz makes is that the question of undesirable behaviour is moral and political, *not medical*. If this had been discussed in the TV debate, some interesting conclusions might have evolved. At least the medical mask would have slipped to show the authoritarian face beneath. However, as we have said, the four eminent British psychiatrists entirely overlooked the core of the issue and seemed concerned to defend themselves against some imaginary personal attack.

The question of whether one is justified in trying to impose a certain type of behaviour by the use of drugs, ECT

or psychosurgery is obscured by describing what one is doing as trying to cure an illness. Great play was made by the psychiatrists with the preponderance of 'voluntary' patients. Certainly some patients are in hospital because they want to be, but, as Szasz rightly pointed out, the existence of compulsory powers destroys the possibility of a genuinely voluntary system. Patients who are supposedly voluntary frequently say, 'my husband (or wife) had me put in here'. The procedure may vary. Sometimes it is a veiled threat. 'You know you really need treatment, old chap. If you don't come in now it may come to the point of having to bring you in later on.' Sometimes it is straightforward trickery. 'We just want you to come to hospital (type not specified) for a check up.'

The notion that because a man's behaviour is in some way abnormal, is a nuisance to those around him or even to himself, he is therefore necessarily ill, cannot in our view be logically justified. Who for instance is to determine what behaviour is normal? It is a commonplace that what is normal at one time in one society, is abnormal in another time and place. In their insistence that what they are trying to do is to cure mental illness, the psychiatric profession lays itself open to the charge that it is erecting a screen in order to evade moral judgments.

In recent years there have been some startling advances (if that is the right word) in the means available to control behaviour. What for instance do you think of a society in which people are not only imprisoned because they think and behave differently, but in which children under five have parts of their brain destroyed in order to control their 'restlessness'?

This horrific situation exists not in some futuristic work of science fiction but is happening in various places throughout the world *now*. It has been brought into the open by Dr. Peter Breggin in his informative paper 'The Return of Lobotomy and Psychosurgery'. According to Dr. Breggin, lobotomy and psychosurgery are on the increase. The original period claimed up to 50,000

victims in the US alone. It declined during the late 1950's when more faith was being placed in the use of drugs and ECT to change emotions and control behaviour. Now the pendulum appears to be swinging back in favour of psychosurgical methods. As evidence for this Breggin points to the setting up of a new International Association for Psychosurgery, promotional statements appearing in widely circulated magazines and at least 40 individuals involved in psychosurgical projects. The current US rate is estimated at 400-600 cases a year. Dr. Breggin says, 'Every psychosurgeon agrees that we are just beginning to witness a massive increase in psychosurgery to rival the wave of 50,000 two decades ago.'

One frightening aspect of the upsurge is the use of psychosurgery on children. Dr. Balasubramaniam of Madras, India, tells of the results of operations on 115 patients, three of them *under five* and another 36 *under eleven*. The commonest form of symptom being 'restlessness'. By injecting foreign matter such as olive oil into these children's brains in order to destroy certain areas, he was able to make the children helpful, less aggressive. 'In one case the patient became quiet and bashful and was a model of good behaviour.'

Narabayashi and Uno of Tokyo report on a follow-up of 27 children aged *five to thirteen* . . . children characterised by unsteadiness, hyperactive behaviour disorders and poor concentration, rather than violent behaviour, it was difficult to keep them interested in one object or a certain situation. The best results achieved in five of their cases—'they have reached the degree of satisfactory obedience and of constant steady mood which enabled the children to stay in their social environment such as kindergarten or a school for the feeble minded'. In a report of 22 cases, the youngest aged *four*, the best results achieved—'emotional and personality changes: the patient became markedly calm, passive and tractable, showing decreased spontaneity'.

F. D. Reeder of W. Germany says in a report on a patient he had operated on for 'sexual deviation'—'Potency was weakened but preserved. . . . The aberrant sexuality of the patient was considerably suppressed, without serious side effects. One important feature was the patient's incapacity of indulging in erotic fantasies and stimulating visions. . . . Reeder states there was a disappearance of homo-

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# Another Threat

THE LONGFORD THREAT TO FREEDOM by Brigid Brophy (The National Secular Society, 10p).

AS WE DESCEND, down and down and down, in a welter of competing nationalisms, with bombing, and hijacking and general hell-on-earth, Mary Whitehouse, David Holbrook and Lord Patten probably seem trivial nastinesses.

ban should be imposed on anything which outrages 'contemporary standards of humanity accepted by the public at large', which is so vague as to be meaningless. The present law is bad enough, but if this standard was to be set up no one would have to prove anything. To ban any book, play, film or television programme would be easy.

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some shops in London one can buy a photograph of a woman sucking the penis of an Alsation dog, unaesthetic and unhygienic though this undoubtedly is.

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he is ill and voluntarily to seek treatment. On the other hand, when we say that a man is mentally ill, we often find that he totally denies being ill, indeed frequently says that he never felt better in his life, yet he is forcibly submitted to treatment. We also find that the symptoms which lead to his being diagnosed as mentally ill turn out to be behaviour which somebody thinks is undesirable. Now the important point that Szasz makes is that the question of undesirable behaviour is moral and political, *not medical*. If this had been discussed in the TV debate, some interesting conclusions might have evolved. At least the medical mask would have slipped to show the authoritarian face beneath. However, as we have said, the four eminent British psychiatrists entirely overlooked the core of the issue and seemed concerned to defend themselves against some imaginary personal attack.

The question of whether one is justified in trying to impose a certain type of behaviour by the use of drugs, ECT

one time in one society, is abnormal in another time and place. In their insistence that what they are trying to do is to cure mental illness, the psychiatric profession lays itself open to the charge that it is erecting a screen in order to evade moral judgments.

In recent years there have been some startling advances (if that is the right word) in the means available to control behaviour. What for instance do you think of a society in which people are not only imprisoned because they think and behave differently, but in which children under five have parts of their brain destroyed in order to control their 'restlessness'?

This horrific situation exists not in some futuristic work of science fiction but is happening in various places throughout the world *now*. It has been brought into the open by Dr. Peter Breggin in his informative paper 'The Return of Lobotomy and Psychosurgery'. According to Dr. Breggin, lobotomy and psychosurgery are on the increase. The original period claimed up to 50,000

disobedience, hyperactive behaviour disorders and poor concentration, rather than violent behaviour, it was difficult to keep them interested in one object or a certain situation'. The best results achieved in five of their cases—'they have reached the degree of satisfactory obedience and of constant steady mood which enabled the children to stay in their social environment such as kindergarten or a school for the feeble minded'. In a report of 22 cases, the youngest aged *four*, the best results achieved—'emotional and personality changes: the patient became markedly calm, passive and tractable, showing decreased spontaneity'.

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SEX-POL, Reich (Vint)

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This pamphlet is a reprint of the speech that Brigid Brophy delivered at a public meeting held at the Conway Hall to protest against the Longford Report. In it she makes the point that if the recommendations of the report were made law, all culture would come under a blanket of censorship, if the law were to be enforced strictly that it is. For the report recommends that a

ban should be imposed on anything which outrages 'contemporary standards of humanity accepted by the public at large', which is so vague as to be meaningless. The present law is bad enough, but if this standard was to be set up no one would have to prove anything. To ban any book, play, film or television programme would be easy.

One of the things that strikes the present writer is that, in spite of the popular expression 'sex and violence', which has now become one word to all intents and purposes, no one really objects to violence. The underground stations in London are plastered thickly with posters advertising violent films, men are pointing guns at each other, explosions are going off, flame and death is everywhere. This at a time when 'urban guerrilla warfare', we are told, is becoming a serious concern of the police. One would have thought that this was far more disturbing than the fact that in

some shops in London one can buy a photograph of a woman sucking the penis of an Alsatian dog, unaesthetic and unhygienic though this undoubtedly is.

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'Public opinion', 'democracy' and so on cannot be relied on to safeguard freedom. Brigid Brophy points out that Socrates outraged 'contemporary standards', accepted by the public of Athens, and drank the hemlock as a penalty for this, and for 'corrupting the youth' with his philosophical scepticism. Darwin also outraged the standards of his age, though he did not suffer death there were no doubt many people who would have liked to kill him.

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Secretary:  
Peter Le Mare, 5 Hannaford Road,  
Rotton Park, Birmingham 16

**ANARCHIST  
FEDERATION  
of BRITAIN**

#### AFB REGIONAL GROUPS

There are now anarchist groups in almost every part of the country. To find your nearest group write to:

N.E. England: Mick Renwick, 34 Durham Road, Gateshead, Co. Durham.

Essex & E. Herts.: P. Newell, 'Aegean', Spring Lane, Eight Ash Green, Colchester. (QM, FL)

Yorkshire: Trevor Savage, Flat 3, 35 Richmond Road, Leeds, 6.

Manchester: Mat Cunningham, 19a Meadowside Avenue, Walkden, Worsley, Lancs.

Scotland: Secretary, Mike Malet, 1 Lynnewood Place, Maryfield, Dundee.

Wales: c/o P. L. Mare (address above).

N. Ireland: c/o Freedom Press.

The American Federation of Anarchists: P.O. Box 9885, Minneapolis, Minnesota 55440, USA.

University and Student Groups: c/o P. L. Mare.

#### AFBIB—To all Groups.

AFBIB is produced at 34 Cowley Road, Oxford. Send all news, reports, subs., etc., to Oxford.

The Contact Column in 'Freedom' is also available for urgent information. Groups should send latest addresses to Oxford. New inquirers should write direct to them or to the AFB information office in Birmingham.

J.B.

## REVIEWS

is obscured by desire as doing as trying to Great play was made with the preponderantly patients. Certainly in hospital because but, as Szasz rightly existence of compulsory the possibility of a system. Patients who voluntary frequently say, 'My wife' had me put in dure may vary. Some threat. 'You know treatment, old chap. If in now it may come having to bring you sometimes it is straight. 'We just want you tal (type not specified)

because a man's behaviour is abnormal, is those around him or he is therefore necessarily our view be logically for instance is to determine what is normal? It is that what is normal at the society, is abnormal and place. In their that they are trying to mental illness, the person lays itself open to it is erecting a screen of moral judgments.

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victims in the US alone. It declined during the late 1950's when more faith was being placed in the use of drugs and ECT to change emotions and control behaviour. Now the pendulum appears to be swinging back in favour of psychosurgical methods. As evidence for this Breggin points to the setting up of a new International Association for Psychosurgery, promotional statements appearing in widely circulated magazines and at least 40 individuals involved in psychosurgical projects. The current US rate is estimated at 400-600 cases a year. Dr. Breggin says, 'Every psychosurgeon agrees that we are just beginning to witness a massive increase in psychosurgery to rival the wave of 50,000 two decades ago.'

One frightening aspect of the upsurge is the use of psychosurgery on children. Dr. Balasubramanian of Madras, India, tells of the results of operations on 115 patients, three of them *under five* and another 36 *under eleven*. The commonest form of symptom being 'restlessness'. By injecting foreign matter such as olive oil into these children's brains in order to destroy certain areas, he was able to make the children helpful, less aggressive. 'In one case the patient became quiet and bashful and was a model of good behaviour.'

Narabayashi and Uno of Tokyo report on a follow-up of 27 children aged *five to thirteen* . . . children characterised by unsteadiness, hyperactive behaviour disorders and poor concentration, rather than violent behaviour, it was difficult to keep them interested in one object or a certain situation'. The best results achieved in five of their cases—'they have reached the degree of satisfactory obedience and of constant steady mood which enabled the children to stay in their social environment such as kindergarten or a school for the feeble minded'. In a report of 22 cases, the youngest aged *four*, the best results achieved—'emotional and personality changes: the patient became markedly calm, passive and tractable, showing decreased spontaneity'.

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sexual impulses and that psychiatric commitment could therefore be avoided. The virtual destruction of a man's sex life is regarded as a cure.

New psychosurgical techniques are being developed which enable the individual to be controlled without prolonged hospitalisation and without separating him from his family and work. The 'treatment' can be tailored to fit the job. Progressive electrical frontal lobotomy is coupled with careful management of the patient by a psychotherapist over six months or more. Breggin says, 'The newer methods of these Britishers are much more subtle, but basically the same. The patient is fussed over and given reassurance and the process is so gradual and remote from him—controlled electrically with no obvious intervention taking place—that the patient never realises what is happening to him.'

Breggin is presumably talking about the Burden Neurological Institute in Bristol, where they have succeeded in constructing an apparatus that switches off a television set when the person watching doesn't like or is disturbed by the programme, with no intervention other than the thought. If a computer

were programmed to react in a certain way to certain thoughts, it could send back a radio signal which neutralised some brain cells, influencing the behaviour of the subject in a desired direction. This is possible now.

Lobotomy (destruction of some brain cells) cannot be accomplished without a blunting of the emotions. Breggin describes this as a partial death, since without emotions we are less than human, and consequently considers that lobotomy is in the same category as euthanasia. His remedy of a law banning psychosurgery is no guarantee that it will not be used in the future. Even public outcry is no guarantee that some government somewhere will not decide to control some of its citizens by these means. As we know only too well, when it suits them, governments act in secret. When they do, the public has no opportunity of protest, let alone control. The only sure guarantee we have against this potential villainy is a society where control is exercised from the bottom up and where decisions are made in public with the knowledge and consent of those they concern.

ROY EMERY AND GEOFFREY BARFOOT.

## The Early Reich

SEX-POL, Essays, 1929-1934, Wilhelm Reich (Vintage Books, £1.25).

THE ANARCHISTS, let it not be forgotten, pioneered the spreading of Reich's ideas in England in the 1940s. The most popular of his books on sale at Freedom Bookshop were *The Mass Psychology of Fascism* and *The Sexual Revolution*. His later works were less well liked. Finally his last works were condemned by most anarchists as the writings of an insane man, although no doubt his insanity was not his fault, it was the result of persecution.

This compact, handy paperback gives us Reich's early short writings. He had not renounced his Marxism. This was the man who could write, 'If we were to put the question of girls wanting to have babies at the top of the list, we are sidetracking the issue, even if the question does play some part. The typical bourgeois way of evading the problem of sex has been to put mother-love on a pedestal and in that way to obscure everything else. It is a fact that the desire to have a child generally only occurs when the needs of the senses have been more or less satisfied. What young people are concerned about, to put it bluntly, isn't reproduction but contraception and sexual gratification at the time of their youthful ripening. They're concerned with putting their love life in order. And the preconditions for this are totally lacking under capitalism. . . .'

In short this is the Reich that we all know and love. Somebody who was not afraid to face up to the sexual and economic problems of our society. Who

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As an introduction to Reich this is a good book. What we need now are editions of *The Mass Psychology of Fascism* and *The Sexual Revolution*, not in their present modified form, but in the editions which used to be available from Freedom Press in the 1940s, in which Reich's revolutionary ideas had not been watered down.

ARTHUR WARD.

## PRESS FUND

### Contributions

November 30-December 6 inc.

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Dundee.

Mark (address above).

Freedom Press.

ederation of Anarchists: P.O.

apolis, Minnesota 55440, USA.

dent Groups: c/o P. L. Marc.

# THE ELLY REICH

**SEX-POL, Essays, 1929-1934, Wilhelm Reich (Vintage Books, £1.25).**

**THE ANARCHISTS**, let it not be forgotten, pioneered the spreading of Reich's ideas in England in the 1940s. The most popular of his books on sale at Freedom Bookshop were *The Mass Psychology of Fascism* and *The Sexual Revolution*. His later works were less well liked. Finally his last works were condemned by most anarchists as the writings of an insane man, although no doubt his insanity was not his fault, it was the result of persecution.

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In short this is the Reich that we all know and love. Somebody who was not afraid to face up to the sexual and economic problems of our society. Who told the truth, without attempting to cover it up with fine phrases. Nowadays, thanks to him, and others like him, including the publishers of *FREEDOM*, and other anarchists who publicised his ideas (why shouldn't we give ourselves a pat on the back, since no one else remembers?), someone who expressed such ideas should not be subjected to the cruel persecution that was Reich's own fate, and which drove him out of his mind at the end. Nowadays even the Festival of Light brigade have an uneasy look in their eyes, an uncertain note in their voices. The young are seizing their freedom. They are (however confusedly) attempting to cope with the problem of accommodation, on which Reich lays such stress, by squatting and forming communes. Things have moved on since 1934. The world may not be getting better but at least it's getting different.

This book includes the following writings:

*Dialectical Materialism and Psychoanalysis;*

*Psychoanalysis in the Soviet Union;*  
*The Imposition of Sexual Morality;*  
*Politicizing the Sexual Problem of Youth;*

*What is Class Consciousness?*

and

*Reforming the Labour Movement.*

Reich was no anarchist. He was not particularly pleased, even before he became reactionary and crazy, when the anarchists started pushing his ideas. But he often came close to anarchism. He was a kind of libertarian Marxist in his best days.

Some of the pieces reprinted here are really small books, for example *The*

*Imposition of Sexual Morality*, which is a follow up of Engels' *The Origin of the Family*, and is Reich's theory of how sexual taboos came to be imposed. Among academic anthropologists this question is itself taboo nowadays, along with the theory of Cultural Diffusion. But people are beginning to see that academic science has a stake in the status quo, and are becoming sceptical of it, so maybe these ideas will be discussed again some day.

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Sales (Voline): £8.00	
<b>TOTAL: £41.48</b>	

<b>(1) INCOME FROM POSTAL SUBSCRIPTIONS AND SALES</b> (Target for 1972—£4,500)	
Amount received	
to December 6	£2,658.85
<b>(2) PRESS FUND CONTRIBUTIONS</b> (Target for 1972—£1,500)	
Amount received	

Nov. 30-Dec. 6 inc.	£41.48
Previously acknowledged	£1,223.34
<b>TOTAL TO DATE</b>	<b>£1,264.82</b>

## PUBLICATION DATES

**FREEDOM** will be published on Saturday, December 23. The following week, the typesetters will not be working on Monday 25th and Tuesday 26th, the days on which it is necessary to have **FREEDOM** set. The issue of December 23 is No. 52 of Volume 33, and will complete Volume 33.

AT A TIME when FREEDOM's difficulties seem insuperable it is cold comfort to watch the collapse of an American colossus and the sinking almost at the launching slips of a boosted IPC enterprise. One finds it cold comfort for one can falsely argue 'if they don't survive, how can we?' The rumblings of the approaching death of *Life* came in December 1971, when a fifth of the staff was declared redundant. This was after *Look*, *Life*'s main competitor, ceased publication on October 19, 1971. The circulation of *Life* was seven million in 1971, such are the figures of failure.

*Candida*, the newly-launched woman's magazine from the International Publishing Corporation, survived seven issues (at a cost of £250,000), and failed to reach its circulation target of 300,000 copies a week; this, in spite of thorough market research without which no new product is launched.

The third ominous crack in an already shaken newspaper structure is the decline of W. H. Smith's to renew their leases of London Underground station kiosks. Claiming that the rental (based on a percentage of the takings) makes it uneconomic to continue staffing a stall whose peak in takings is during comparatively short 'rush hours', Menzies and one other wholesaler have also declined to take up London Transport's option.

There has been somewhat of a historical pronouncement by *Life*, that television is partly responsible for its decline, which obscures the fact that *Life* has television interests of its own (it being partly responsible for the controversial BBC 'History of the British Empire'). Up to now publishing interests have staunchly denied the competitive effects of television on readers (not to mention the effects on advertisers—which is more important). Last week the Inner London Education Authority told a Government inquiry that television and the growing use of the telephone militate against the development of literacy. It could be that McLuhan's prophecy of a switch to visual communication is being fulfilled a little late but the decline of largely visual magazines like *Life*, *Look* and (earlier) *Picture Post* do not bear this out.

The curious phenomena before the closing down of *Life* and also *The Saturday Evening Post* and *Look* was a deliberate reduction of the circulation. In the case of *Life* it was to be cut from seven million to five and a half million copies. 'Its aim' (said *The Times* N.Y. correspondent, 2.12.71), 'is to get rid of lower-income readers in whom advertisers are less interested, thereby to reduce production costs while keeping most of the high income readers.

# A MATTER OF 'LIFE' & DEATH

Advertising rates can then be reduced to be made more competitive with television.' It didn't work, obviously. The same problem confronted *Candida*. The advertiser's dream of a reader is one with a constantly expanding income and a permanently increasing consumption of all varieties of goods.

With the increasing capitalization and growth of monopoly in every industry, not to mention the consortium with its monopoly - dodging diversification, the standard applied to every enterprise is 'how much will it make?' The practised vultures and jackals of the city known as asset-stripers can often assess (and are respected for it) the carcass value of a dead company and proceed to the killing, for the company is worth more dead to them than it is worth alive. Its value to its shareholders, its employees and the consumer are, probably quite rightly, assessed at nought. It is well known that one or two Fleet Street newspapers' most vital asset is the premises they occupy, an asset which the vultures are eyeing hungrily.

Capitalism has very little interest in expanding production and in supplying needs. Production will be restricted as in the case of *Life*, etc., if the demands of profit are thereby met. The tendency to monopoly and the gigantic mergers, aided by the computer, has meant a standardization of the product, and a restriction of the consumer's choice, again in the interest of profit. In a profile of the head of the Reed International paper concern (now controlling IPC) in *The Investor's Guardian*, it was stated as a policy of the Group to restrict the production of newsprint. The interviewer asked Sir Don Ryder, 'You have been doing a lot of hatchet work. I am thinking principally of the computer time-sharing business you have shut, the *Mirror Magazine*, and the wallpaper factory closure earlier this year that put 1,000 out of work. Is it a principle of yours never to support a loss maker?' 'Oh, no,' replied Sir Don, 'that would be a terrible indictment. I never support a loss-maker that has not got real growth potential. But we will persevere with those that have.'

It is an illusion to believe that the Press (with very few exceptions) is other than as G. K. Chesterton pointed out 'scribbling on the backs of advertisements'. Wickham Steed calculated (in 1939) that the popular daily press's net income from sales was 40% of the cost and 60% and over—which would be profit—must come from advertising.

Can we wonder then that the whole life of the press—and 'independent' television too—revolves round its advertising revenue. Our press is sold into prostitution even before it writes a word. The demands of readers who see their

papers swept away—*Evening Post*, *Collier Chronicle*, *Daily Herald*, *Picture Post*, *Ink*, *amples*—in the face of advertising demand. The readership of all papers runs into billions to fill our needs?

# WANTED— GUARANTOR

THE RESPONSE to our proposals for a better FREEDOM has been so swift and sure as to guarantee FREEDOM's continuation. A number of people have asked us to make clear what it is we are NOT asking at this point for cash donations up to £2,000 to make a FREEDOM that will reach a wider circulation and be more representative. What we are asking is, that if we undertake this and if as the best efforts we make to increase income to the necessary amount, that we can call on you to honour a pledge up to a given figure, that we not intend to let FREEDOM die. If you feel concerned to take part in this, can commit yourself to helping with money, please fill in the application form and return it to us NOW.

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# 'Worker' Chauvinism

LETTER

Dear Comrades,

Although I agree with some of what Una and Alison write (FREEDOM, 2.12.72) about the specific oppression of women, the insert about "Worker" Chauvinism raises a question or two in my mind. To be chauvinistic means to be ultrapatriotic, putting the interests of one's own country before everything taking

ation, with the same potential for revolutionary action—even if they forgot the specific problems and potential contribution of other members of the class. Thus their attitudes would signify a limitation of consciousness, not false consciousness as with chauvinism of all types. Nationalism, racism, sexism, religious sectarianism play up factors

At Constantine, Lloyd's, Manchester

(it being partly responsible for the controversial BBC 'History of the British Empire'). Up to now publishing interests have staunchly denied the competitive effects of television on readers (not to mention the effects on advertisers—which is more important). Last week the Inner London Education Authority told a Government inquiry that television and the growing use of the telephone militate against the development of literacy. It could be that McLuhan's prophecy of a switch to visual communication is being fulfilled a little late but the decline of largely visual magazines like *Life*, *Look* and (earlier) *Picture Post* do not bear this out.

The curious phenomena before the closing down of *Life* and also *The Saturday Evening Post* and *Look* was a deliberate reduction of the circulation. In the case of *Life* it was to be cut from seven million to five and a half million copies. 'Its aim' (said *The Times* N.Y. correspondent, 2.12.71), 'is to get rid of lower-income readers in whom advertisers are less interested, thereby to reduce production costs while keeping most of the high income readers.'

It is a restriction of the consumer's choice, again in the interest of profit. In a profile of the head of the Reed International paper concern (now controlling IPC) in *The Investor's Guardian*, it was stated as a policy of the Group to restrict the production of newsprint. The interviewer asked Sir Don Ryder, 'You have been doing a lot of hatchet work. I am thinking principally of the computer time-sharing business you have shut, the *Mirror Magazine*, and the wallpaper factory closure earlier this year that put 1,000 out of work. Is it a principle of yours never to support a loss maker?' 'Oh, no,' replied Sir Don, 'that would be a terrible indictment. I never support a loss-maker that has not got real growth potential. But we will persevere with those that have.'

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But worker chauvinism? Identity and solidarity as workers rather than with all fellow-members of the exploited/oppressed/revolutionary class. . . . Yes, but all those with whom workers would identify in this way would indeed be their comrades, in the same social situa-

tion, with the same potential for revolutionary action—even if they forgot the specific problems and potential contribution of other members of the class. Thus their attitudes would signify a limitation of consciousness, not false consciousness as with chauvinism of all types. Nationalism, racism, sexism, religious sectarianism play up factors which divide the working class and operate on the basis of class collaboration, inevitably in the interests of the dominant class. The present class structure does not become irrelevant through being 'ignored'.

The same applies to female chauvinism, which can be discerned among certain strands of the women's liberation movement. To conceive of the world as divided, in some sense basically, into male and female, is not a revolutionary political position, it's a sexist one—from either side. This is the conception we in women's lib. should be combating, not reinforcing. Workers' solidarity, on the other hand—against their oppressors, that is, not against members of their own class—is something to be welcomed and encouraged.

LIZ WILLIS.  
Edinburgh

# Asians and the Union

Continued from page 1

'had printed a pack of lies about the strike', an eminently sensible move at a time when reporters from the nationals were covering the meetings anyway.

The local IS branches, in pursuance of their policy of 'politicalising the Asian strikers', whatever that truly dreadful word might mean, have continued to support the pickets and the strike committee. So far the net result of their efforts seems to have been that racialism has gained a foothold among the white non-strikers.

Altogether the situation is fraught with

danger for both white and Asian workers. The best short term outcome that one can foresee would be that the strikers won their claims for decent wages and equitable opportunities for job advancement. Many aspects of the dispute lead me to believe that what the strikers have learnt from their experiences with the union, their white fellow workers and the management has given them sufficient resolve to enable them to press on for a partial victory, in spite of the weight of the opposing forces.

PETER MILLER.

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# Another Political Victim

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Her health has already been seriously impaired by 5 months in custody at Holloway before gaining bail under strict conditions.

Now she is awaiting imminent trial on a charge of possessing explosives (a conspiracy charge has been dropped), unemployed and on supplementary benefit of £5.20 a week.

Associated with black freedom movements, Women's Liberation and actively interested in the Irish situation (both her parents are Irish), she was arrested a year ago—within days of the savage sentence on Jake Prescott.

It was not until May that she was released on stringent bail conditions to Oxford. She has been granted legal aid

but this does not travelling to London with her solicitor. in Oxford the same her bail conditions £1.40 out of her £100.

Her bail is likely the date of her trial.

We all have been about the recent political charges—the Saor Eire 5, the Peter Hain, Michael

Michelle is partly cause she is charged unpublicised (she in Holloway) and of any group like or a Defence Group.

Her trial should awareness and thus be able to victimise because they are Contributions are to: Michelle O'Callaghan, 6 Farndon Road,

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## LETTER

papers swept away—*Life*, *Look*, *Saturday Evening Post*, *Colliers*, *Candida*, *News-Chronicle*, *Daily Herald*, *Sunday Citizen*, *Picture Post*, *Ink*, *Seven Days* for examples—in the face of a slackening of advertising demand are of no account. The readership of all this lost legion of papers runs into billions. Where is the fulfilment of the promise of capitalism to fill our needs?

JACK ROBINSON.

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call on the union to scrub the £1 and ask for an extra £4 rise at the union's general meeting on January 1.

The union seems to be a bit rough and is reluctant to supply its members rule books, which are 40 years old. The members did get rid of some weak people off the union committee in Manchester at the last union meeting, and the militants hope that the union will soon be forced to take a tougher line with the bosses.

The box employers, most of whom are already paying over the union rate, are in a powerful position because the workers in the boxmaking industry are not keen to take united action, partly because their union is so divided.

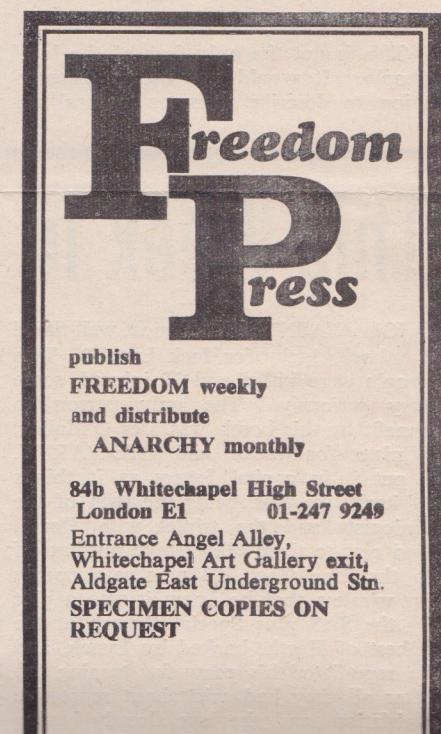


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<b>Making Communes</b>	Clem Gorman £0.75 (7½p)
<b>The Book of Grass</b>	(ed.) George Andrews & Simon Vinkenoog £0.45 (7½p)
<b>Deschooling Society</b>	Ivan D. Illych £0.95 (5p)
<b>Celebration of Awareness</b>	Ivan D. Illych £0.95 (5p)
<b>God and the State</b>	Michael Bakunin £0.75 (5p)
<b>The Black Flag of Anarchy</b>	Corinne Jacker £2.50 (15p)

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The box employers, most of whom are already paying over the union rate, are in a powerful position because the workers in the boxmaking industry are not keen to take united action, partly because they've never struck before and also because the box workers at firms outside Manchester, at Liverpool, Birmingham and London, are mostly semi-skilled and are therefore looked down upon by their Manchester brothers. This is a sad state of affairs which is losing the boxmakers money.

TRADE UNIONIST.

## Another Political Victim

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but this does not cover the cost of travelling to London for consultations with her solicitor. She has to be back in Oxford the same day to comply with her bail conditions and the fare takes £1.40 out of her £5.20 dole.

Her bail is likely to be revoked when the date of her trial is set.

We all have good reason to worry about the recent stepping up of overtly political charges—Prescot and Purdie, the Saor Eire 5, the Stoke Newington 8, Peter Hain, Michael Tobin.

Michelle is particularly vulnerable because she is charged individually, almost unpublicised (she was virtually unvisited in Holloway) and without the backing of any group like the Young Liberals or a Defence Group.

Her trial should not be without public awareness and the State should not be able to victimise people more efficiently because they are charged individually. Contributions are urgently needed. Send to: Michelle O'Callaghan Defence Fund, 6 Farndon Road, Oxford.

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Clem Gorman £0.75 (7½p)

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6 months	£2.50

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6 months	£2.50

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12 issues	£2.25	(\$6.00)
6 issues	£1.13	(\$3.00)
Airmail		
USA & Canada	12 issues	\$11.00
	6 issues	\$6.00
Australasia &	12 issues	£4.50
Far East	6 issues	£2.25

# In Donegal Today

'I KNOW of an ammunition dump not half an hour from here. You could go and help yourself.' So I was told by a man who described himself as 'non-political', and who opposed both sides, more or less, in the present conflict.

Donegal is a part of the Irish Republic, isolated in the north, and nearly cut off from the rest of the country by Ulster, which puts out a tentacle almost to the sea.

Although Ireland is described as 'The Emerald Isle', the prevailing colour of this part of it is brown. The mountains in any light are black. According to archaeologists a shift in the earth's axis occurred about 1,000 B.C., and the prevailing winds, hitherto blowing from the east, blew now from the west. They carried the salt spray over the land, and the forests, formerly thick, died, and the less hardy kinds of grass 'burned' by the salt. The forests left behind them thick beds of peat, which at least provides fuel without cost, but otherwise it was a major disaster. Men had settled in the region I visited, on the northern side of Donegal Bay, in Neolithic and Bronze Age times, and built up a complex, and no doubt rich and powerful (by the standards of those times) civilisation, whose megalithic monuments still stand. They were drawn by the fertility of the soil, the lush vegetation and so on. Now it seems like a bad joke.

Today the region must be one of the poorest in Northern Europe. Farmers, smallholders and fishermen eke out a living of sorts. Many have smallholdings and fishing boats and make their livings from the land and the sea. But in addition to this a great number receive a dole from the State, and without this they probably could not survive. The Irish Republic is afraid that the area may become totally depopulated. But, when the country enters the Common Market, a more ruthless policy may be applied.

## FEAR OF INVOLVEMENT

This is not the only fear of the local people. It would not be an exaggeration to describe them as 'natural an-

archs'. They ignore, rather than defy, the law, when they think they can get away with it. There is none of the subservience to authority that you get, or until recently used to get, in England.

On the other hand they do not want to be drawn into a civil war. They had enough of that in the days of the Black and Tans. My informant about the ammunition believed that with good will and patience the North could be absorbed into a United Ireland in a matter of ten years or so, with satisfaction for all except the fanatics, Catholic and Protestant. But unfortunately the fanatics have the upper hand.

Fanaticism here is regarded as bad manners. What is strange is that though the population is mostly Catholic there is a strong feeling of anti-clericalism. When some Ulster Protestant threatened, 'For every Protestant killed we'll kill ten Catholics,' somebody said, 'Fine, so long as they're priests.'

However, though there is no great enthusiasm for the Provisionals, when the British Army sent an armoured car across the border in pursuit of some of them the local people turned out like a swarm of angry bees. They dragged cars and lorries across the road, and soon brought the invasion to an end.

English people who have settled here in order to escape from big city civilisation, and who are accepted with perfect friendliness, for there is no anti-English feeling (if one was an Orangeman on the other hand one might not leave the county alive), have told me that they would join in the resistance, by violent means if necessary, if such an invasion took place again.

## WORKING FOR GOD

Economic forces are harder to fight than military invasion however. In nearby Glencolumbkille the Reverend J. McDyer has attempted to fight back against the economic pressures which are making this poor area yet more poor, and driving the young people to emigrate. The village co-operative industries, the folk museum and holiday village have at-

tracted visitors, often of Left-wing sympathies, from all over the world.

Local opinion is not undivided in admiration, sad to say. 'Father Mac' is something of a country squire, not adverse to riding roughshod over people who oppose his plans. He can sometimes make remarks, which, humorously intended no doubt, cause hurt to those at whom they are aimed.

In his own pamphlet *Glencolumbkille Report* he writes, 'But most of all I

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## Middle Class Cause

Dear Comrades,

This, then, in answer to Una and Alison is my attitude to Women's Liberation. I respect and admire their battle and would do everything or anything I could to help them win their objectives, bar burning my bra, but to me it is but another good, solid, middle-class cause, fought by and on behalf of the women of the middle class to follow their men into the council chambers of economic and political power, and in that struggle the women of the working class are merely weapons, and as such expendable. This is not to denigrate the cause, but, like Black Power, Gay Liberation and the rest, to recognise who and what it is for. The old picture of the working-class woman as some sensitive but fragile drab sweating out her day over a hot sausage, while El Bruto lashed it up down at the local boozer with Juicy Lucy and the rest of the factory Jet Set is a working-class image that went out with Zola, D. H. Lawrence and the Death of Little Willie.

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## This Week in Ireland

NOW WASN'T THAT most well-timed bomb lucky for Jack Lynch? Two people were killed and 30 injured, some very seriously. The only person to benefit by this bomb was Des O'Malley, Minister for Justice, and THE PARTY. I put it in capital letters as it thinks of itself like that, being the twin of the Unionists and the triplet with Heath. Bad cess to them all. I take my hat off to the Fine Gael TD who said openly on wireless that he knew it was a plot by the SAS plus Special Branch at the behest of Heath, backed by Lynch, and he repudiated his party for turning tail after all they had said about repressive legislation, and the law already having power to deal with all troubles. Not

is dying because of our plastic muck. Kill the plankton and you kill the sea. Kill the sea and you kill all life, we live in a symbiosis. To keep up with all that happens in Ireland to date I'd need a hot line to FREEDOM all the time! I was very glad to be with my co-writer last week. I have a tiny unimportant correction. The Mayor of Cork was TERENCE McSweeney not Kevin.

It now seems almost certain the rockets being used in the six counties came from Israel, who got them from Russia ages ago. They are out of date and very dangerous and are being fired by 'expendable' youth while the big bugs of the IRA hide.

I am listening to the wireless as I

joke.

Today the region must be one of the poorest in Northern Europe. Farmers, smallholders and fishermen eke out a living of sorts. Many have smallholdings and fishing boats and make their livings from the land and the sea. But in addition to this a great number receive a dole from the State, and without this they probably could not survive. The Irish Republic is afraid that the area may become totally depopulated. But, when the country enters the Common Market, a more ruthless policy may be applied.

#### FEAR OF INVOLVEMENT

This is not the only fear of the local people. It would not be an exaggeration to describe them as 'natural an-

in order to escape from big city civilisation, and who are accepted with perfect friendliness, for there is no anti-English feeling (if one was an Orangeman on the other hand one might not leave the county alive), have told me that they would join in the resistance, by violent means if necessary, if such an invasion took place again.

#### WORKING FOR GOD

Economic forces are harder to fight than military invasion however. In nearby Glencolumbkille the Reverend J. McDyer has attempted to fight back against the economic pressures which are making this poor area yet more poor, and driving the young people to emigrate. The village co-operative industries, the folk museum and holiday village have at-

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Best wishes,  
ARTHUR MOYSE.

## Anarchist Organisation

Dear Comrades,

The *Organisational Platform of the Libertarian Communists* which has been exhumed after 46 years by the bureaucratic bores of ORA in a further vain attempt to justify their bureaucratic obsessions received a disappointingly uncritical review at the hands of Peter Newell (FREEDOM, 25.11.72).

The essence of the *Platform* is the assumption that the Russian Revolution did not end in a libertarian society because there was no significant party-like organisation of anarchists, with an executive committee, discipline, party 'line' and all. It does not occur to these vanguardists that the success of the revolution depended on the aspirations and actions of the mass of the people rather than themselves.

Peter Newell gives the impression that opposition to such nonsense is only to be expected from the 'fringe' of the movement when he writes:

'There have always been a number of people on the fringe of the movement who, in theory at least, are opposed to all forms of organisation. These are generally the individualists and spontaneists. However, some anarcho-syndicalists and even a few who called themselves libertarians communists

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I was in O'Connell Street next afternoon when we had another bomb scare and troops blew up a car. The gardai cleared everyone back onto the pavements. Had there been a bomb a great many people would have been badly cut by glass. I was much nearer, but, on an island in the centre of the road with the rest of the Press, would not have been hurt. I had a lovely free view of the firework display.

Seriously, things go on getting worse and more heartbreaking. Every day there are murders, intimidations and tortures in Belfast. To me one of the most ghastly things is the way we become immune. I did not even jump when the car was blown up. I had gone down to interview the Rev. Joseph Parker doing a fast against violence and for pacifism. Like so many people he hasn't a clue what pacifism is all about. He paid a little lip service to condemning all violence, but he really only meant IRA, and when asked awkward questions would not answer.

Tomorrow we go to the polls to vote about votes at 18 and whether the clause of article 44 which speaks of the special position of the Catholic faith should be retained: I am dreadfully afraid our Holy Joes and Holy Maries will keep it in, and our poor will be condemned to 18 children in 20 years for ever, or until their pollution kills the world; which it soon will do. Already the plankton in some places

is dying because of our plastic muck. Kill the plankton and you kill the sea. Kill the sea and you kill all life, we live in a symbiosis. To keep up with all that happens in Ireland to date I'd need a hot line to **FREEDOM** all the time! I was very glad to be with my co-writer last week. I have a tiny unimportant correction. The Mayor of Cork was **TERENCE McSweeney** not Kevin.

It now seems almost certain the rockets being used in the six counties came from Israel, who got them from Russia ages ago. They are out of date and very dangerous and are being fired by 'expendable' youth while the big bugs of the IRA hide.

I am listening to the wireless as I write. A rocket has injured 11 soldiers. Merlin Reese has just said the Unionists are adamant they must have back a Stormont with Ministers and full security powers and he does not believe Westminster will give it to them. I'll finish this tomorrow. I must go out now to what technically at any rate is an illegal gathering under the new act amendment, i.e. a discussion about Civil Liberties with many eminent speakers.

\* \* \*

It was a wonderful meeting, with senators, lawyers, Tony Smythe from England, and dozens of other very clever and eminent people, showing just how wrong the Government was in law as well as decency. Every press photographer and reporter in Dublin was present; yet in today's morning papers the meeting is not even mentioned. I leave you to draw your own conclusions.

I am utterly sickened by hearing how two workmen in Belfast, doing up a derelict house, were shot by the army, who said they had guns. One was killed and one badly wounded. The army had to recant. The 'guns' were piping and the tools of their trade. The army regretted BUT 'it is all the fault of the terrorists we make these mistakes'. Myself, I think it is the trigger-happiness of everyone in Ireland. The 11 soldiers seriously hurt I touched on yesterday were in a Saracen and the rocket penetrated it. One soldier has lost an arm.

Three weeks to Christmas and all we can think about is killing and maiming each other.

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**ELECTION**

Dear Friends  
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tracted visitors, often of Left-wing sympathies, from all over the world.

Local opinion is not undivided in admiration, sad to say. 'Father Mac' is something of a country squire, not adverse to riding roughshod over people who oppose his plans. He can sometimes make remarks, which, humorously intended no doubt, cause hurt to those at whom they are aimed.

In his own pamphlet *Glencolumbkille Report* he writes, 'But most of all I

re, rather than defy, they think they can. There is none of authority that you only used to get, in

and they do not want a civil war. They in the days of the informant about believed that with good the North could be United Ireland in a few years or so, with except the fanatics, constant. But unfor-

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there is no great Provisionals, when an armoured car pursuit of some of people turned out like bees. They dragged across the road, and invasion to an end. have settled here from big city civilised accepted with perfect e is no anti-English an Orangeman on e might not leave have told me that the resistance, by necessary, if such an again.

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have been sustained by my religion. Were I not working for God I could not be bothered working for man. People are very loveable but they also are very irritating and disloyal and ungrateful. Which suggests there has been a certain amount of tension. The people here have a spirit of independence, appropriate to a 'frontier', and find even well-intentioned authority unbearable.

JOHN BRENT.

## Middle Class Cause

Dear Comrades,

This, then, in answer to Una and Alison is my attitude to Women's Liberation. I respect and admire their battle and would do everything or anything I could to help them win their objectives, bar burning my bra, but to me it is but another good, solid, middle-class cause, fought by and on behalf of the women of the middle class to follow their men into the council chambers of economic and political power, and in that struggle the women of the working class are merely weapons, and as such expendable. This is not to denigrate the cause, but, like Black Power, Gay Liberation and the rest, to recognise who and what it is for. The old picture of the working-class woman as some sensitive but fragile drab sweating out her day over a hot sausage, while El Bruto lashed it up down at the local boozer with Juicy Lucy and the rest of the factory Jet Set is a working-class image that went out with Zola, D. H. Lawrence and the Death of Little Willie.

also criticized the *Platform*.

Those who oppose bureaucratic anarchist organisation have been in the past—and are now—active workers in ad hoc organisations which serve some useful purpose. One of the most active participants in the organisation of the armed group, the Black Guards, to oppose the Bolshevik tyranny in Moscow in 1918 was the individualist Lev Chernyi. Peter Newell would, in fact, be hard pressed to quote any significant anarchists, other than the authors, who did support the *Platform*. Voline, Berkman and Goldman were opposed to it despite their experience of the Russian situation.

Ironically, ORA claims to have the intention of making the anarchist movement relevant to the revolutionary struggle today, and there they are picking the corpse of a still-born controversy. Meanwhile, back on Earth.

Fraternally,

Corby

TERRY PHILLIPS.

## Election Mania

Dear Friends.

Harry Harmer, in *FREEDOM* on December 2, was quite right to question our view of apathy expressed in our report on the Rochdale by-election. If one sees the anarchists as a kind of political sect who must in some way educate people to 'know better', one cannot fail but agree with Harry's assessment of the situation.

If, however, we see anarchism as a living force already at work within the fabric of the English way of life, then we will be more concerned to cultivate such anarchic elements as exist, rather than aim to make some mass conversion. We would argue that if the formal anarchist movement is to make any headway in our society, it will have to come to terms with the rough and ready anarchism of everyday life.

We would maintain that mixed up with the apathy of the ordinary bloke, is a shrewd belief that everybody in politics is out to do him, combined with a deep distrust of all those in authority, and determination not to be manipulated by anyone. If by turning a deaf ear to all politicians, economic experts and the like, the English are in some way to positive manipulation by the politically motivated, then it might be no bad thing that they are apathetic or even stupid, as some left intellectuals would have it.

Of course this doesn't make things easy for the formal anarchist movement, but it does also present an obvious problem for the rulers. People are not easy to govern, and a look at industrial sociology will show us that once we look beneath the surface of factory life we find unconscious anarchic elements at work.

It is up to us to help develop these real anarchist forces as we find them



**C**ontact  
Contact Column is for making contact! Use is free, but donations towards typesetting costs are welcome

### Help Fold and Despatch 'FREEDOM'

Thursdays from 2 p.m., followed by discussion at 7.30 p.m.

Meeting to discuss possible television spot, Thursday, December 21, at 8.30 p.m. at Freedom Press. Convenor: Terry Phillips.

**'Libertarian Teacher'.** Now published five times per year—litho printed. Takes up all aspects of the struggle in and out of schools. Single copy 13p — subscription (5 issues) 50p. Black Flag Bookshop, 1 Wilne Street, Leicester.

**'Black and Red Outlook'**, December edition available from Roy Carr-Hill, 29 St. Michael's Place, Brighton.

**Stoke on Trent 'Dwarf'** are opening an alternative information service at 66 Beresford Street, Stoke on Trent, ST4 2EX. Regular open meetings every Thursday, 8 p.m.

**Meeting** at the Centro Iberico (Trinity Church Hall, Holborn — opposite Holborn Tube), Lotta Continua on 'Valpreda' and 'Situation in Italy'. Sunday, December 17, at 5 p.m.

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It is up to us to help develop these real anarchist forces as we find them among the ordinary people of England. Certainly the worst an anarchist can do in England is to pose as a self-righteous killjoy, who knows what's best for everyone.

NORTH WEST WORKERS.

## Some are more equal than others

Dear Comrades,

In attempting to refute Arthur Moyse's comments on Women's Liberation, Una Stephenson and Alison Malet only succeed in reinforcing them. They present their movement as being concerned with campaigns against oppression, protests against degradation, demands for various free services, 'a re-examination of the whole educational set-up and the lack of creches and nurseries (state-run or otherwise)' (!) All this is exactly what Arthur Moyse called it, middle-class liberalism, albeit tricked out in revolutionary phrases about a basic change in society which will make the present class-structure irrelevant—they make no attempt to explain this. Its relevance to anarchism is, in my opinion, precisely nil.

Male chauvinism is neatly equated with something called 'worker chauvinism—the belief in the separate and inherently superior role of the worker'. This misconception has been adequately dealt with in the past, and for Una and Alison to repeat it is ironic in view of the accusation of 'compulsive non-comprehension'. The point about the housewife,

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Anarchist Calendars 1973, 10p each, 2½p post from Kropotkin Lighthouse Publications, c/o Freedom Press.

Anyone interested in forming a Cambridge Anarchist Group please contact Alan Ross and Louisa Martin, 24 Thomas Road, Fulbourn; phone 880147.

Peace News' for theory and practice of non-violent revolution. £4.95 p.a. (students less 10%). Trial sub. 7 weeks for 50p with free M. Duane 'Biological Basis of Anarchism'. 5 Caledonian Road, N.1.

Michael Tobin Defence Committee, c/o 265 Dale Street, Chatham, Kent.

Libertarian Aid Committee for the Hyde Park '3'. Visiting: Phone 677 1526 (Mrs. Carty). Letters-gifts (must have Prison No.): 110305 M. Callinan, 110281 L. Marcantonio, 110280 Stan Quinn. Donations: Mrs. Callinan, 59 Brondesbury Villas, London, N.W.6.

dole collector, OAP, student and unsupported mother is that they are all dependent on the worker. This is not making a moral judgement, it is simply stating a fact. Lacking economic power, these groups can campaign, protest and demand their rights until they are blue in the face, and still it will not add up to a social revolution.

Fraternally,  
Bristol  
CARL CHATFIELD.